

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 01709 181409Z
ACTION SS-25

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O 181205Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8365
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 1709

EXDIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), PDEV, RH, UK, US, TZ
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NYERERE'S POST MORTEM ON DAR ES SALAAM MEETING

1. SUMMARY: IN POST MORTEM DISCUSSION MORNING APRIL 18, NYERERE STRESSED NEED TO EMPHASIZE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF DAR ES SALAAM CONFERENCE IN ORDER TO KEEP PATRIOTIC FRONT COMMITTED TO NEGOTIATING PATH IN SEEKING RHODESIAN SOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT NYERERE ASKED UK HIGH COMMISSIONER MOON AND ME TO HIS MASANI HOUSE MORNING APRIL 18 FOR FIFTY-MINUTE POST MORTEM ON DAR CONFERENCE. HE BEGAN BY ASKING WHERE I THOUGHT WE STOOD. HAVING IN MIND SECTO 4093 WHICH I HAD JUST RECEIVED, I REFLECTED OUR
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DISAPPOINTMENT ABOUT SOME ASPECTS OF THE DAR CONFERENCE, BUT REFERRED ALSO TO THE GENERALLY ENCOURAGING TONE OF PUBLIC REACTION FROM PRETORIA AND SALISBURY TO THE OWEN-VANCE VISITS THERE.

3. NYERERE SAID HE THOUGHT THINGS WERE NOT IN VERY GOOD SHAPE AT ALL. HE WAS AWARE OF TOUGH LINE TAKEN BY PF AND HAD TRIED TO MODIFY AND DIRECT IT. HE INSISTED HE HAD IN FACT GOT PF AGREE-

MENT (REAFFIRMED ON SATURDAY) ON THE POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER BUT THIS HAD BECOME OBSCURED BY ARGUMENTS OVER THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL AND A PF ROLE WITH THE POLICE. ON THE TERMINOLOGY USED TO DESCRIBE THE NEXT CONFERENCE, HE COULDN'T SEE A REAL ISSUE. HE BELIEVED THAT HE HIMSELF IN WRITING TO CALLAGHAN HAD SPOKEN OF "A FULL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO BE ATTENDED BY ALL PARTIES."

4. NYERERE'S MAIN CONCERN, HE SAID, WAS THAT WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, INTERNATIONAL PRESS WAS DESCRIBING CONFERENCE AS A FAILURE WHILE HE IN FACT BELIEVE IT TO HAVE ACCOMPLISHED A GOOD DEAL. HE ALSO BELIEVED THAT THE OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES WERE NOT RPT NOT "FUNDAMENTAL". DISAGREEMENT OVER THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL WAS A MATTER OF INTERNAL RHODESIAN POLITICS WHICH SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED. THE POWERS OF THE COUNCIL SHOULD BE WHATEVER WAS LEFT OVER WHEN THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER HAD WHAT HE NEEDED -- AND THE PF WAS IN FACT PREPARED TO CONCEDE TO UK VIEWS ON THIS.

5. THE WAY TO HANDLE THE POLICE QUESTION WOULD HAVE BEEN TO ASK THE PF IF THEY ACCEPTED THE R.C. AS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE POLICE, AND WHEN THEY SAID YES, TO ANSWER THEIR QUESTION AS TO WHAT FORCES THE R.C. WAS GOING TO USE BY SAYING: (A) THE EXISTING FORCE WITH A NEW LEADER, (B) THE UN, AND (C) ANY PF POLICE YOU WANT TO PUT FORWARD IN THE WAY THE R.C. FINDS THEM MOST USEFUL.

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6. AT END OF MEETING, NYERERE ASSUMED MORE OPTIMISTIC TONE. HE SAID HE COULD UNDERSTAND HOW TACTICALLY IT MIGHT SUIT US -- AND ESPECIALLY DR. OWEN -- TO "GO SOUTH" WITH SOME DISAGREEMENT, BUT HE WISHED URGE US AS STRONGLY AS HE KNOWS HOW: (A) DON'T DEFINE THE QUESTIONS OF COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL AND THE POLICE AS FUNDAMENTAL, AND (B) DON'T TAKE A PUBLIC POSITION THAT THE DAR ES SALAAM MEETING HAS FAILED OR WAS NOTABLE MORE FOR ITS AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT THAN OF AGREEMENT BECAUSE THIS WILL ONLY ENCOURAGE SALISBURY TO GREATER INTRANSIGENCE.

7. COMMENT: NYERERE IS DISAPPOINTED BECAUSE "HIS" CONFERENCE DIDN'T GO MORE SMOOTHLY; AT THE SAME TIME, HE WANTS TO HAVE MALTA II APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL TO KEEP MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON SALISBURY GROUP. HE IS NOT SURE HOW MUCH TO BLAME US AND HOW MUCH THE PF, BUT I DOUBT HE WILL END UP CLOSELY SUPPORTING THE PF POSITION AGAINST OURS. HE WILL PROBABLY WAIT TO SEE WHAT COMES OF THE ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE BEFORE TAKING ANY MORE MAJOR INITIATIVES-HIMSELF, BUT HE IS LIKELY TO BE WEIGHING ALTERNATIVES FOR KEEPING THE UK AND US ENGAGED. AT THE MOMENT, AS REFLECTED IN THE TANZANIAN PRESS, HE WANTS US ALL TO THINK AND TALK AS POSITIVELY AS WE CAN ABOUT THE DAR

MEETING ON THE ASSUMPTION (WHICH WE MIGHT WELL EXAMINE ALSO)
THAT THIS IS THE BEST WAY TO KEEP THE EFFORT AT A NEGOTIATED
SETTLEMENT AGREED TO BY ALL PARTIES MOVING FORWARD.
SPAIN

NOTE BY OC/T: DAR ES SALAAM 1709 NOT PASSED TO THE SECRETARY.

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